

THE JAPANESE PEACE MOVEMENT AND THE CONSTITUTION

By Ryō Maeno*

Two factors have been promoting the vitality and the fundamental character in the history of the Japanese movement against A-and H-bombs. One is the feeling, consciousness and action of the Japanese people to oppose experiments, use and storage of all kinds of nuclear weapons, and of course nuclear war, which developed out of our experience of the first A-bomb sufferings. The other is a legal pattern of disarmed pacifism shown in Article 9 of our Constitution.

Those two factors, often connected with each other, have formed the national character of the movement against A-and H-bombs which has extensively developed since the Bikini event in 1954. Nowadays the factors are the foundation of the movement by the Japanese people who are now opposing to the nuclear armament of Japan (1. The deployment of F105D bombers. 2. Calling at Japanese ports of nuclear armed submarines. 3. Nuclear armament of our Defence Forces), based upon the plan and policy of the multinuclear power programs of the U. S. which is now bringing about the turning into nuclear bases of the Mediterranean Sea and West Germany's possession of nuclear weapons.

De Gaulle's recent policy of hastening the dissemination of nuclear weapons that every country should have her own controlling power of nuclear weapons to keep peace and in connection with that, Galois' essay made public in Japan that China's nuclear armament will have been accomplished by about 1970, so that Japan also needs to prepare the possession of nuclear weapons, are giving a nasty shock to the Japanese people. Besides, part of conservative powers estimate that China's nuclear armament and the Japanese Defense Forces' possessions of nuclear weapons and total alteration of Article 9 will happen at about the same time.

But the Japanese people will oppose definitely to the tendency toward nuclear dissemination in Asia which is steadily taking shape whether it is done under the ostensible purpose of preserving the dignity and safety of the Japanese nation or defending People's Republic of China.

What I want you all to realize here is that this kind of strive of the Japanese people is the national conscience taking the form of "disarmed pacifism" and "opposition to all kinds of nuclear weapons" which has come to the fore in the Japan's movement against A-and H-bombs based upon our experiences of A-bomb sufferings

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and the pattern of Article 9 of our Constitution.

Recently, the opinion to exclude, from the Keynote of the Japanese anti A-and H-bombs movement, the idea to oppose every nation's nuclear test blasts and nuclear armament, or the standpoint to appreciate the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty concluded at Moscow in August, 1963 has been strongly suggested under the cloak of pursuing the unity of what we can agree with, reaching no conclusion about what we can't agree with, and the great confusion of the Japanese anti A-and H-bombs movement has been caused by it.

This opinion on the pretext of the unity of the movement, is inclined to take away the vitality or the motive power of the anti A-and H-bombs movement of Japan. The idea and the theory of nuclear controlling power is the basic strategy of the Japanese imperialists, but the nation's sense of peace which is against it was led by the sufferings from A-bombs and the pattern of the Article 9 of the Constitution. This is the idea of peace that refuses any nuclear test, nuclear weapons' employment and possession of them, namely the idea of the peaceful co-existence and disarmed neutrality.

The foregoing opinion takes away this idea of peace and breaks the Japanese anti A-and H-bombs fundamentally. Therefore, we don't think that the today's confusion of the movement is caused by the Russo-Chinese disputes. We think that this is because of the antagonism between the popular nation-wide Japanese movement against A-and H-bombs which is based on the absolute pacifism and the movement which depends on the political strategy of some particular parties.

What is the unique national trait of the movement against A-and H-bombs which is said to be the source of vigour? We hear by other reports that the Japanese nation is realizing how inhuman and cruel A-and H-bombs are. So, I need not speak about it in detail now, but what I want to emphasize is that such realization should not be referred only to the Japanese people's simple consciousness of nuclear war damages. Taking a full account of the fact that the miserable scar is left to the next generation even 20 years after the war, and through the endeavour to connect this cruelty with the scientific thoughts of Japanese and world's scientists, we have made the view of war and peace which denies every war centering upon nuclear weapons. I also want to emphasize that such view of peace, peculiar to the historical destiny of the Japanese people, bears universal, worldwide and cosmic meaning and character, in the ages of the latter half of the twentieth century. Connected with this new view of peace—if I am permitted to say so in the unclear ages, the preamble and Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution denotes for us the legal and ideal nature of the standpoint of the Japanese people who are eager to achieve total disarmament and a new international relation and order of peaceful co-existence. The preamble of the Constitution says that we make sure that the

people of the whole world have the right to live in peace, being equally free from the horror and the famine, and Article 9 says that the Japanese people heartily long for international peace based on justice and order, and that we eternally renounce the war which is the exercise of national power and the menace by military power and the use of military power as a means of resolution of international disputes. It also says that in order to achieve this object we do not retain the Ground, Maritime and Air forces and other military powers, and that we do not allow the right of belligerence. That is to say, first, it declares the right of peaceful existence of all the peoples of the world, and second, it prohibits Japan from retaining military power, and third, it denies the right of belligerence. Within the framework of these criteria, it is beyond doubt that Japan can not arm herself with nuclear weapons. But, for all that, this legal pattern was consistently ignored by successive conservative governments and by the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty which stipulates that Japan has been obliged to cooperate with American nuclear strategy. Besides, the Self-Defense Force is about to be promoted to the National-Defence Ministry, and, taking advantage of the dissemination and pluralization of nuclear weapons, they are preparing not only for the modernization of common weapons, but also for the nuclear armament.

Considering the development of the Japanese industrial level, just as West Germany, it is easy for her to have nuclear weapons. And, under these political conditions, they not only renounce the interpretation of Article 9 that Japan cannot have nuclear weapons even for the self-defence purpose, but also persist in such an interpretation that it is not the violation of Article 9 to have nuclear weapons for the self-defence purpose. And at the same time, they are preparing for the revision of the Constitution especially on Article 9. It means the reaction against the Japanese people's pacifism and social consciousness of non-nuclear armament. But, the criterion of this pacifism of the Constitution is protected by the speeches and activities of the general people, and filled the role of preventing constantly the government policy of nuclear-armed influence.

The concept of pacifism is based on the fundamental law of education, and also on the regulations of the three principles—democracy, harnessing of atomic power and its peaceful utilization. And the verdict by Judge Date about the problems of Sunagawa in which he judged the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty as a violation of the Constitution, judgement in which the dropping of A-bomb was proclaimed as a violation of the international law in Tokyo District Court in 1963, etc.

In the course of judicial administration this principle of pacifism influences greatly in connection with public opinion and action of the nation.

In 1964 we proposed the campaign to collect signatures all over the country for the conclusion of the total banning treaty on nuclear weapons and also the

establishment of the Asian non-nuclear armed area as well as the movement for the coordination of the Japan's non-army commitment, through the activities against nuclear testing by any nation.

We also proposed this movement, not for the purpose of limiting it to an individual opposite campaign, but an all-out and unified struggle for total ban on nuclear weapons, through the movement against a F105D carrier of H-bombs and calling of nuclear powered submarines, and of preventing Japan from holding nuclear armament.

We also proposed it as a civil and national movement in which national defence and diplomatic policy are fulfilled, based on the rules of the pacifism, 9th item, of the Japanese Constitution.

It is the aim of the movement caused from the basic character and request of Japanese A-and H-bomb banning movement and at the same time it establishes a most actual political principle in the age of nuclear war.

I think this declaration apparently denies the wrong theory that nuclear armament held by certain nations will maintain the balance of power. I also think this declaration shows that the doctrine of non-nuclear armament is the most actual politics. The spirit of the declaration paves the way for establishing free-zone of nuclear armaments in Asia, thus helps attaining total banning of nuclear test and total disarmament.

This declaration at the same time indicates the way how Japanese people should act in order to achieve the particular purposes mentioned above.

In connection with those matters, finally, I would like to present my proposal. That is to establish the movement for the declaration of the world people's right. The preamble of the Japanese Constitution as I have said before, shows "We must make it sure to have the right that all the people in the world are equally free from fear and poverty and live in peace." These are moral and legal bases of the entreaty of the movement against A-and H-bombs. Having suffered so much from the misery of the previous world war, death of thousands of innocent citizens, we came to realize how necessary it is to live in peace. Today when nuclear weapons and their transportation system has made enormous progress, we are all the more conscious of the value of peaceful life. This sense of appreciating the value of life has passed into the mind of many people as mass movement of peace developed. Especially in latter half of 1950's this mass movement in every country gathered its strength. For instance, "Each people has the right to join this in the problems of war and peace."

In the Women's Strike for Peace in the U.S.A., women who are in charge of fostering the next generation have the right to demand that any government should abandon use and storage of nuclear weapons. Instead, it should utilize atomic

energy for the betterment and advancement of our living standards.

In the consciencess and mental foundations with which the British people insist upon unconditional abandonment of nuclear weapons guided by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100, there was under current that the question whether we choose self-determination by nuclear war or true peaceful co-existence is universal one beyond the framework of national legislature and national interest.

Moreover in 1959 at the United Nations the Soviet Premier Khrushchev proposed the total disarmament and its policy was decided in the United Nations. We can easily acknowledge the primary contention to maintain the right for the whole human beings to live peacefully.

Opposing the dissemination of the nuclear weapons we struggle to establish the non-nuclear-armed area, to abandon the nuclear weapons and to develop the way to disarmament. We have come to the age in which the movement to oppose this kind of nuclear policy is based upon the right to live peacefully from one to another in the world beyond the difference of nationality and in which nobody can interfere with this.

From the viewpoint of the Japanese people this is the movement to make the right to live in peace universal which is stipulated in the Constitution of Japan, and, from the view point of the whole world, this is to make the regulations clear on peace of the world people in the Charter of the United Nations and to establish the basement of the world people up to the total disarmament.
